1: Conzemius M-4, 5 (1921) 1932
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found in the works of the historians Juarros, León Fernández, R. Fernández Guardia, Ayón, Gámez, and Vallejo.[85]

In 1722 Spain protested to the British authorities of Jamaica on account of these slaving expeditions, alleging that the Miskito had captured in the valley of Rio Matina and on Tojares Island (Chiriqui Lagoon) over 2,000 Indians (Talamancas, Viceitas, Arinamaes, Abubaes) and sold them to Jamaican traders for arms and ammunition. On October 8, 1722, Diego de la Haya, Governor of Costa Rica, addressed a note to the authorities of Jamaica for the restitution of these Indians. (Peralta, a: 20–31; Fernández: IX, 153.)

The Sumu apparently did not enslave their prisoners, but killed them outright. Scalping was unknown, but the teeth and nails were extracted from the unhappy victims and carried round the neck as trophies. Certain subtribes of the Sumu were cannibals and roasted the enemies captured in war.

ALLIANCE OF THE MISKITO WITH THE BUCCANEERS.—During the seventeenth century the buccaneers, who were active in the Caribbean Sea preying upon the commerce of Spain, entered into friendly and commercial relations with the Miskito, who likewise were the enemies of the Spaniards. According to Exquemelin the first buccaneer vessel anchoring at Cabo Gracias a Dios was French. The captain was well received and made a few presents to the Indians, who in turn gave him products from their fields. When he left he carried along two of these Indians in order to provide his vessel with food, having observed their great skill in fishing. The two Indians were well treated; they learned French, and after one or two years were carried back home again. From that time the French and the Miskito became friends. Indian women were given to the former during their stay at Cabo Gracias a Dios and in payment the buccaneers gave iron tools. They had no trouble in being supplied with Indian fishermen when they left for a cruise, and some of them even picked up the Miskito language. The French made the English acquainted with their new friends. Many Indians served three or four years on the vessels of the buccaneers, learning either French or English, and then were paid off in iron tools (Exquemelin, Engl. ed.: 250; French ed.: II, 262–264).

It would appear, however, that later the English buccaneers were more esteemed than the French. Dampier (I, 8) states that the Indians "like the English but do not love the French," while according to Sloane (a: I, p. LXXVIII) the Miskito "do not allow any other nation but the English to settle among them and that they have

[85] See also Gaceta oficial de Costa Rica, 1864; A. von Frantzius, Archiv für Anthropologie, IV, 1870, p. 104; Thiel, Datos cronológicos para la historia eclesiástica de Costa Rica San José, under 1693; Restrepo, Viajes de L. Wafer, Bogotá, 1853, p. 110.

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some propensity to the Dutch, but hate the French mortally for their wanton behavior toward their wives." The statements of these two English authors should, perhaps, be accepted with reserve.

The Miskito were of valuable assistance to the buccaneers, for they were, and still are, singularly skillful with the spear. When a party of buccaneers put to sea without provisions they steered to the feeding grounds of the sea turtle or they stopped at a lagoon where the manatee was to be found. Here two Indians set out in their own small canoe. Two Miskito were able to catch enough fish, manatee, or turtle to supply a vessel of 100 men. For that reason they were much esteemed by the buccaneers and nearly every vessel from Jamaica had a couple of these Indians on board (Exquemelin, English ed.: 250; Dampier: I, 1–2, 35–37, 160, 181, 234, 277, 453, and II, part II, 13, 109; Raveneau de Lussan: 440).[82]

The Miskito were not only used as fishermen by the buccaneers but they also bore arms. They were bold and courageous in the fight and they shared in the capture. Among these sea rovers the Indians became first acquainted with the use of firearms and soon proved very good marksmen (Dampier: I, 2, 8). Miskito strikers even accompanied the buccaneers in the Pacific Ocean. In January, 1681, a party of English freebooters under Sharp and Watling were anchoring at the island of Juan Fernandez in the southern Pacific, about 400 miles west of Chile. Being persecuted by three Spanish vessels they hurriedly lifted anchor and sailed away, leaving behind a Miskito named William, who was hunting in the bush at the time. This Indian lived a solitary life on the island for three years when finally he was rescued by another party of English buccaneers under Cook. The first man from the rescuing vessel jumping on land was likewise a Miskito, named Robin. Dampier belonged to the party and relates the account (I, 84–86).[83]

MARAUDING EXPEDITIONS TO THE SPANISH SETTLEMENTS.—Led by their allies, the buccaneers, the Miskito also formerly undertook incursions in the interior of Honduras and Nicaragua by ascending the larger rivers. They surprised and plundered the nearest Spanish settlements, capturing the women and children. During the eighteenth century the towns Catacamas, Juticalpa, Segovia (now Ocotal), Jinotega, Matagalpa, and some settlements of Chontales were several times entirely destroyed and some of them were then

[82] Vide also Basil Ringrose, The History of the Bucaniers of America. Part II. The dangerous voyage and bold attempts of Capt. Barth. Charp, Watlin, Sawkins, Coxon, and others, in the South Sea. London, 1699, chap. XI, p. 54.

[83] See also Ringrose, *ubi supra*, chap. XV. The Scotch sailor, Alexander Selkirk, whose adventures suggested to Daniel Defoe his famous work Robinson Crusoe, was therefore not the first or the only inhabitant of Juan Fernandez; the latter lived there from 1704 to 1709.

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transplanted some distance away from the navigable rivers in order to be less exposed to attack (M. W.: 300, 302, 306; Peláez: II, 165; Peralta, b: 102, 120; Belt: 241, 255–256). In those days the products of Nicaragua were generally shipped by way of Rio San Juan, but this important waterway was often in the hands of the Indians.

Attacks by the Miskito on the Spanish settlements were also carried on occasionally as far north as Rio Chamelecón in Honduras; sometimes these Indians joined the English logwood cutters operating in what since has become British Honduras.

More frequently the canoes of the Miskito were directed southward toward Rio Matina in Costa Rica, where the Spaniards had established important cacao plantations during the seventeenth century. The latter had to be abandoned later, owing to the incursions of the Indians. The historians of Costa Rica devote large space to these expeditions into their territory. (See also M. W.: 302, 307, 310.) Although they ceased gradually during the latter part of the eighteenth century, acts of authority were exercised by the Miskito on that coast for some time afterwards. Still in 1838 they monopolized the fishery of the hawk's-bill turtle as far as Puerto Limón, collecting a tribute from the fishers engaged in that occupation (Cooper: 12).

THE MISKITO IN THE JAMAICAN MAROON WAR.—The Miskito rendered very valuable service to the English of Jamaica in aiding to suppress the maroon rebellion on that island. These maroons were the descendants of the Negroes and mulattoes who took to the mountains, in order to preserve their freedom, when the English in 1655 wrested Jamaica from the Spaniards.

On June 25, 1720, a convention was signed between Sir Nicholas Lawes, Governor of Jamaica, and Jeremy (Jeremias), "King" of the Miskito, whereby the latter engaged himself to send a body of Indians to track the revolted slaves. This treaty was formally agreed to and passed upon by the Assembly of Jamaica.

Two hundred Indians were brought to Port Royal and organized in companies under their own officers. They were paid 40 shillings a month and a pair of shoes. They remained several months and rendered valuable services to the English. A few years later the maroons were active again and about 1725 Capt. Robert Lade brought 100 "Muschetos" Indians to Jamaica to fight them (Lade: II, 7, etc.).

Again, in 1738, 200 Miskito were brought for the same purpose. They were formed into companies under their own leaders with white guides assigned to each company, who were to lead them to the enemy. They did good service as trackers and with their assistance the maroons were soon pressed on all sides, cut off from their provision grounds, and compelled to make peace (Long: II, 344–345; Edwards: I, 529–530).

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the pulp surrounding the wild cacao (*Theobroma bicolor* ?). This same writer (b: 308) likewise mentions a drink made from coconuts; it was sweetened by the addition of ripe plantains or wild honey. 273

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

There is no trace of any division in clans or exogamic kinship groups. The tribal organization of these primitive tribes was essentially along democratic lines. 621

In former days the Miskito do not appear to have been ruled by a supreme chief, except during war time, when a commander was chosen by an assembly of the old men, in order to direct the military operations (M. W.: 307). The choice fell generally upon a warrior celebrated for his prowess. According to Exquemelin (French edit.: II, 264) preference was given to an Indian who had accompanied the buccaneers, but with the restoration of peace his authority ceased. 624

In the legends of the Miskito there are records of individuals seizing the powers of government by violence. The insignia peculiar to a chieftainship seemed to consist of a wooden scepter and of a metal breastplate depending from the neck. The powers of the numerous priest-doctors (*sukya*) were also very great, but it is not known just how much they intervened in governmental affairs. It appears, however, that occasionally the temporal and spiritual heads were both centered in the same person. 622 554

Hereditary chiefs did not rule the Mosquito Coast until after the establishment of British influence. One of these chiefs, a Miskito, was later raised to the rank of king; he became a tool in the hands of his foreign protectors, with whose aid his nominal authority was extended over the larger part of the coast. A silver crown and a scepter of little intrinsic value were bestowed upon him by the British authorities of Jamaica. The rule of the Miskito "king" was absolutely despotic. His orders were carried out by his quartermasters (*kwatmas*); the latter carried a cane or staff, which symbol of authority was apparently introduced by the English or Spaniards. A silver medal, sword, or anything else known to belong to the king would also do. Such a token established the credibility of the bearer and an immediate compliance with his orders. Foreign traders also applied to the king for such an object which served as a passport; every Indian was compelled to render him assistance, lodge him, sell him food, and furnish him with the means of continuing his journey, against reasonable pay. That the Indians of the interior did not pay much attention to such commands need hardly be told. 643 648

Besides the king, there were three other important rulers among the Miskito, who governed comparatively large areas and were known as "general," "governor," and "admiral." Numerous minor 624

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624 chiefs, called by the Miskito name *wita* or *wihta* (lit.: "head"), resided in the larger villages.

•648 Now the government of the two republics, Honduras and Nicaragua, is represented by *comandantes*, who are invariably Ladinos. Indian *subcomandantes* are occasionally named in the larger areas, but their authority is practically insignificant. Some deference is also paid by the Indians to the elders of the settlements, and especially to the sukya. The officials despatched from Tegucigalpa or Managua are rarely of the better element, and have at times committed great abuses among the timid and peaceful aborigines. They are too frequently men of low morals who try to enrich themselves by imposing fines upon the Indians, which are put into their own pocket, or by compelling the natives to work for their personal benefit.

LAWS: CRIME AND ITS PUNISHMENT

627 ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.—In former days the punishment of criminals was intrusted to the individual wronged rather than to special officers of justice. If the injured person did not take any steps to revenge himself he was considered a coward.

177 692 681 Toward the middle of the eighteenth century, when British influence spread to the "court" of the principal Miskito chief, special officers, known by the name *kwatmas* (from the English "quartermaster") were intrusted with the execution of government orders and the administration of justice. Punishment was inflicted in the shape of fines, flogging, and death by hanging; prisons were unknown. On their periodical visits these officers used to whip all the young people whom they could seize, in order to cure them of their laziness and stinginess, apparently whether they were guilty of the charge or not. This was called "teaching the people" (M.: *upla smalkaya;* S.: *môih sumalnin, môih sumalnaka*) and had the object of inculcating principles of good conduct and morality. An account of such proceedings is given by Bell (b: 278–282).

685 THEFT.—A thief was compelled according to Indian law to restore twice the value of the stolen object.

847 INFANTICIDE.—This was apparently not considered a crime in former days under certain circumstances. (See Children: Their Birth and Education.)

683 BODILY INJURY.—For any bodily injury, whether done intentionally or not, a payment of "blood money" (M.: *tala mana;* T., P.: *a misil;* U.: *avas makalnak*) was collected.

682 MURDER.—A murderer had to follow his victim into death. If he should not do so voluntarily, the relations of the murdered man might kill him without risk of punishment; besides, in that case, his memory would be dishonored. The *lex talionis* was applied rigidly.

3: Pijoan D-5 (ca. 1945) 1946
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304 with reference to the head, a custom which had not been practiced by the Miskito. It is no longer performed by the Sumu during the present day.

621 624 There is no trace of any division in clans or exogamic kinship groups. Before the conquest, the Miskito were not ruled by supreme chiefs, but in time of war the elders would chose some young warrior, noted for prowess, to guide the activities of the group. Generally, though, they were not a warlike people. Hereditary chiefs were introduced by the British and the ruler became despotic in activity. His orders would be carried out by quarter masters *(kwatmas)* or by other members of his staff. Foreign traders extended gifts to the Chief (King) for trading privileges and the Indians rendered assistance and taxes. However, the Indians in the interior paid but little attention to this hierarchy. Today there are village chiefs who guide the civic affairs of the community on what appears to be a democratic basis. Decisions are made as a result of council meetings where considerable discussion may take place.

● 648 The governments of the two republics, Honduras and Nicaragua, have territorial representatives known as comandantes and these are *Ladinos* (see Appendix B). The comandante may have other *Ladinos* on his staff or as is often the case works in close collaboration with the traders. In the upper Coco River the comandante is stationed at San Carlos. He patrols the area, listens to complaints and his decisions are autocratic. He is in military uniform and his status is one of army discipline. The various companies, i. e., fruit enterprises, rubber development agencies, etc., have many *Ladino* foremen who work in close harmony with the comandante. From the Indian point of view considerable friction exists between himself and the government representative. Since the Indians have no recourse with the Central Government, the jurisdiction of their problems rests with the territorial representative. The Indian complains that there is misappropriation of funds and that traders take endless advantage of them. Regardless of right or wrong, conflict exists and as such it is probably due to the lack of peoples' representation in territorial jurisdiction. Government education is at minimum, the various religious missions have generally performed this service to the better satisfaction of the Indians. The Indians live with great equality, there appears to be no rich or poor among them; they do not strive to accumulate wealth.

[871] [564]

674 626 Within the villages themselves government takes place with the elders guided by a chief. A thief is compelled to restore stolen property and an adulterer pays a fine of a gun or a cow. Stealing is rare, except in the more urban areas and adultery is uncovered usually as a result